

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, SK

SUBJECT: KOREA AT 31ST UNGA: AN ISSUE IN MULTILATERAL
DIPLOMACY

REF: (A)75 STATE 131759; (B)75 STATE 158345;
(C)75 STATE 195240; (D)75 STATE 225930; (E) STATE 26713.

(FOLLOWING IS PROPOSED TEXT OF CIRCULAR TELEGRAM WHICH IS
IN PROCESS OF BEING CLEARED AND CAN BE DRAWN UPON IN
DISCUSSIONS WITH FONMIN PAK, AS MENTIONED REF E).

1. AS ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE FROM REFTELS, ESPECIALLY REF C,
KOREAN ISSUE AT UN IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO U.S. INTERESTS
AND TO THE ROK. WHILE WE DO NOT WISH CONTINUATION OF A
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STERILE ANNUAL UNGA DEBATE ON KOREAN QUESTION, IT IS
INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT NORTH KOREA INTENDS ONCE AGAIN TO
FORCE DEBATE-ON KOREAN QUESTION. WE, FOR OUR PART, ARE IN
PROCESS OF DEVELOPING OUR STRATEGY FOR UPCOMING UNGA ON
KOREA QUESTION AND EXPECT SHORTLY TO BE CONSULTING WITH

CLOSE SUPPORTERS AND OTHERS ON OUR APPROACH THIS YEAR.

2. ACTION REQUESTED: ACTION ADDRESSEE POSTS (IN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE MEMBERS OF NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE COORDINATING GROUP-NACCG) SHOULD ENGAGE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ALONG FOLLOWING LINES ON CONTINUING BASIS, NORMALLY IN COURSE OF REGULAR BILATERAL CONTACTS, AND WITHOUT PRESENTATION OF AIDE-MEMOIRES. UNLESS UNUSUAL RESPONSES OR INFORMATION ELICITED, THEY NEED NOT BE SEPARATELY REPORTED BUT SHOULD BE SUMMARIZED BY APRIL 1 IN A CABLE INDICATING OFFICIALS TO WHOM AND BY WHOM APPROACHES WERE MADE. INFO ADDRESSEE POSTS WILL BE PROVIDED SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS PENDING RESULTS OF ABOVE CONSULTATIONS.

3. WE EXPECT FURTHER NORTH KOREAN EFFORTS TO WEAKEN U.S./ROK POSITION IN 1976 FOCUSING PARTICULARLY ON NON-ALIGNED GROUP WHICH WILL HAVE IMPORTANT SUMMIT MEETING IN AUGUST IN COLOMBO PRECEDED BY FONMIN MEETING IN NEW DELHI IN APRIL. THERE ARE ALREADY INDICATIONS THAT DPRK IS SEEKING SPECIAL CONSIDERATION BY NON-ALIGNED GROUP FOR ITS VIEW OF KOREAN ISSUE AT UNGA. IT IS LIKELY THAT NON-ALIGNED GROUP(NAG) GOVERNMENTS WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE IN COMING MONTHS TO MOVE IN CONFRONTATIONAL DIRECTION ON KOREAN QUESTION. FOR THIS REASON, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN IN FIRM BUT FRIENDLY WAY EARLY IN THE YEAR.

4. WE EXPECT NORTH KOREANS TO CONTINUE THEIR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO FURTHER ISOLATE ROK INTERNATIONALLY AND TO USE UNGA AS FORUM FOR PRESSING THEIR DEMANDS THAT UN COMMAND BE TERMINATED, U.S. FORCES BE WITHDRAWN AND THAT U.S. AND NK REACH PEACE AGREEMENT, EXCLUDING ROKG.

5. NORTH KOREAN POSITION IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO US. THE OBJECTIVES OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD KOREA HAVE BEEN TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PRESERVE PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA, MAINTAIN THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA WITH A VIEW TO PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION. IN FURTHERING THESE OBJECTIVES, THE U.S. AT THE 30TH UNGA CALLED FOR TALKS AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES TO TERMINATE THE UN COMMAND WHILE PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT AND ALSO FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE RUPTURED NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. (FYI: THESE TALKS BEGAN IN MID-1972 AT ROK INITIATIVE BUT WERE SUSPENDED IN LATE 1973. END FYI). WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS RESOLUTION OFFERS THE MOST APPROPRIATE MEANS FOR FORWARD MOVEMENT IN REALIZING OUR OBJECTIVES. THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN (I.E., U.S.) TROOPS FROM KOREA, AS ADVOCATED BY NORTH KOREA'S SUPPORTERS,

WOULD NOT PROMOTE THESE OBJECTIVES; THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS CONTRIBUTES TO PEACE AND SECURITY UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THEY DO NOT EXACERBATE TENSIONS, BUT INSTEAD LESSEN THE LIKELIHOOD OF HEIGHTENED RISKS AND PROVOCATIONS THAT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY OCCUR IN THEIR

ABSENCE GIVEN THE BELLIGERENT POSTURE OF NORTH KOREAN REGIME. MOREOVER, NORTH KOREA'S SUPPORTERS IN THEIR RESOLUTION AT RECENT UNGA POINTEDLY REFUSED TO DEAL WITH SOUTH KOREA ON MATTERS AFFECTING ITS SECURITY. ON THIS, AS WELL AS OTHER POINTS IN OUR POSITION, HOST GOVERNMENTS OF ACTION ADDRESSEE POSTS AT THIS TIME CAN CONTRIBUTE CONSTRUCTIVELY TO DEBATE BY URGING NORTH KOREANS TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES INHERENT IN U.S.-SPONSORED RESOLUTION RATHER THAN REPEATING THEIR OWN UNREALISTIC THEMES IN UNGA.

6. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT ACTION ADDRESSEE POSTS AFTER INFORMING LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE OF ROK, IF PRESENT, AND SUCH MEMBERS OF UN CORE GROUP ON KOREA AS MAY BE HELPFUL (CANADA, JAPAN, NEW ZEALAND, UK, NETHERLANDS) MAKE CONCERTED EFFORT TO SIGNAL TO LEADING HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO WILL BE GOING TO NEW DELHI OR CONSIDERING NAC COORDINATING GROUP DRAFTS IN ADVANCE OF DELHI MEETING, IMPORTANCE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO ATTACH TO HANDLING OF KOREAN ISSUE AT U;GA. PURPOSE OF SUCH SIGNAL IS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT HANDLING OF THIS ISSUE BY HOST GOVERNMENT WILL BE CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZED. WE ARE NOT SEEKING A NEW UNGA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DEBATE ON KOREA AND WE DO NOT BELIEVE ONE IS NECESSARY, BUT WILL DEFEND OUR VIEWPOINT AND SEEK SUPPORT FOR IT FROM OUR FRIENDS. IN ORDER TO PREVENT THIS ISSUE BECOMING AN IRRITANT IN OUR RELATIONS OR IN LIGHT OF HELPFUL HOST GOVERNMENT POSITION ON THIS ISSUE (USE A,PROPRIATE OPTIONAL PHRASE), WE URGE HOST GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY WITH RELEVANCE TO NAC CONSULTATIONS, TO SEEK WAYS:

-- TO DISCOURAGE RENEWED NORTH KOREAN RESORT TO UNGA;

-- TO ENCOURAGE NORTH KOREAN CONSIDERATION OF PROPOSALS MADE DURING LAST UNGA FOR A CONFERENCE OF INTERESTED STATES (US, ROK, NORTH KOREA AND CHINA) AND FOR TERMINATION OF THE UN COMMAND WITHOUT DISRUPTION OF THE ARMISTICE MACHINERY;

-- TO ENCOURAGE A RESULT THROUGH WHICH BOTH KOREAN STATES HAVE EQUAL STATUS IN UN SYSTEM, AND PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING TOWARD REUNIFICATION AS ENCOURAGED BY UNGA SINCE 1973;

-- TO MAINTAIN A POSITION ON THE ISSUE WHICH PERMITS HOST GOVERNMENTS TO DEAL WITH KOREAN ISSUE ON ITS MERITS RATHER THAN ON A BLOC BASIS, IF IT IS PRESSED AGAIN IN UNGA;

-- TO ADOPT A POSITION WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR TO PUT THE NAC AT THE DISPOSITION OF A STATE (NORTH KOREA) WHICH, FAR FROM BEING NON-ALIGNED, IS COMMITTED BOTH BY IDEOLOGY AND BY DEFENSE TREATIES TO PRC AND USSR.

7. FOR MOSCOW AND EE INFO ADDRESSEES: UPON RECEIPT OF FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS, THERE MAY BE AN ADVANTAGE IN YOUR DISCUSSING ISSUE WITH HOST GOVERNMENT, AT LEAST WITH THE AIM OF INFLUENCING THE INTENSITY OF ITS LOBBYING EFFORT ON KOREAN ISSUE IF NOT OF CHANGING ITS VOTE. IN YOUR DISCRETIONARY DISCUSSIONS YOU MAY USE ARGUMENT THAT ROK HAS RIGHT TO INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS TO ASSIST IN ITS DEFENSE, AS WELL AS ARGUMENTS IN PARA 6 AND SECRETARY'S SEPTEMBER 22 PROPOSAL AT UNGA THAT, IF NORTH KOREA AND ITS ALLIES WOULD MOVE TO IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THE ROK, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE RECIPROCAL ACTIONS.

8. FOR INFO AF ADDRESSEES: UPON RECEIPT OF FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS AN ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT CAN BE MADE AS APPROPRIATE IN POSTS IN THE 25 AFRICAN STATES, WHICH RECOGNIZE THE MPLA IN ANGOLA AND THE 22 STATES WHICH REFUSED AT ADDIS ABABA (OAU SUMMIT) TO SUPPORT A CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA. ALL OF THESE 22, EXCEPT MAURITIUS AND NIGER, WERE COSPONSORS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE PRO-NORTH KOREAN RESOLUTION LAST YEAR WHICH PURPORTED TO DENY TO ROK SAME RIGHT THEY WERE DEFENDING FOR THE MPLA. TO THESE STATES, STRONG ARGUMENT MAY BE MADE THAT IF THIS RIGHT HAS VALIDITY IN AFRICA, IT IS ESPECIALLY VALID ON KOREAN PENINSULA, WHERE NORTH KOREA ATTACKED ONCE BEFORE AND IS AT PRESENT UNWILLING TO EXCLUDE UNIFICATION BY FORCE AS FUTURE OPTION. ONLY GROUNDS FOR DENIAL OF THIS RIGHT WOULD BE DENIAL OF ROK RIGHT TO EXISTENCE. IF THIS IS HOST GOVERNMENT POLICY AND IT IS PURPORTING ON IDEOLOGICAL BASIS TO SUPPORT DPRK LEGITIMACY AND DENY ROK LEGITIMACY, IT COULD BE ASSUMED THAT GOVERNMENT IS ASSOCIATING ITSELF WITH COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL BLOC (A LA CUBA) AGAINST US AND IS NOT GENUINELY NON-ALIGNED. IF GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WISH TO TAKE THIS ALIGNMENT ON A QUESTION AS GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTANT AS KOREA, A POSTURE OF NEUTRALITY TOWARD NORTH KOREAN EFFORTS TO RE-ENGAGE UNGA ON THESE PROPOSALS WOULD BE BETTER UNDERSTOOD.

9. UPON INSTRUCTION, INFO ADDRESSEE POSTS IN LDC

CAPITALS, WHICH ARE NOT MEMBERS OF NAG, SHOULD ALSO SEEK
OCCASION TO MAKE ARGUMENTS IN PARA 6 TAILORING APPROACH
TO POSITION HOST GOVT TOOK ON KOREA VOTES IN 30TH UNGA

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AS INDICATED IN THE OPTIONAL PHRASES IDENTIFIED IN PARA
6. ALTHOUGH NAG WILL NOT BE AT ISSUE, CASE CAN BE MADE
WITH RESPECT TO G-77 WHICH, WHILE LESS SIGNIFICANT
ON MULTILATERAL POLITICAL ISSUES, IS NOW INCREASINGLY
TENDING TO TAKE POSITIONS ON THEM, AS WITNESS JUST
COMPLETED G-77 MEETING IN MANILA.

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10. FOR USUN: MISSION ALSO SHOULD TALK TO PERMREPS
OF NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE COORDINATING GROUP MEMBERS
ALONG ABOVE LINES AND REPORT ON DISCUSSIONS.
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